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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2209

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5 October 1983

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CSSR LEADERS CONGRATULATE BULGARIAN COUNTERPARTS

LD090558 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 8 Sep 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, have sent Tudor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, a telegram of congratulations on the national day of the Bulgarian People's Republic to mark the 39th anniversary of the socialist revolution.

In the telegram, they emphasize that the victory of the socialist revolution 39 years ago, which represented a crucial milestone in the long struggle of the Bulgarian people for national and social liberation, laid the firm foundations to build a socialist society in Bulgaria. We in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic sincerely appreciate the results that the Bulgarian people have achieved in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist States in the social, economic and cultural development of their country, and in raising the standard of living of the people. We follow with great interest the efforts of the Bulgarian working people for the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in building an advanced socialist society.

The Bulgarian People's Republic continues the telegram, as a firm link in the community of the socialist countries actively contributes to consolidate its unity and cohesion, to develop cooperation in the framework of the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA, and to its joint struggle to avert the threat of war in favor of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. Through its active foreign policy it has gained great authority in the eyes of all progressive and peace-loving forces of the world.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic highly values the relations of friendship and Czechoslovak-Bulgarian cooperation. We are convinced that these relations will continue to develop successfully on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between Czechoslovak and Bulgaria.

New and substantial impetus were given by the visit of the highest-level Czechoslovak party and state delegation to Bulgaria last year and by its results.

At the end of the congratulatory telegram, Comrades Gustav Husak and Lubomir Strougal wish Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Grisha Filipov, communists, and the whole Bulgarian people, great success in building an advanced socialist society.

GREAT POET VAZOV CONSIDERED MACEDONIA PART OF BULGARIA

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 8, 1983 pp 13-16

[Article by Velichko Vulchev, senior scientific associate: "Macedonia in the Works of Ivan Vazov"]

[Text] The destiny of Macedonia, which has given glorious names to the cultural-historical, national revolutionary struggles of Bulgaria, was always in Ivan Vazov's consciousness, it constantly supported his creative inspiration. In his childhood he had listened to stories about his grandfathers and great-grandfathers, who had come repeatedly from Macedonia, unbroken by political tyranny and spiritual oppression, and who had found asylum everywhere, from Thrace to the Danubian Plain. Vazov's family is descended precisely from such rebellious, strong, and patriotic Bulgarians, who had come from Macedonia. And when the poet addressed these verses to the land that still remained enslaved during the thousandth anniversary of the Slavic teachers,

Macedonia! Dear homeland!
Cradle of giants and of glory,
No hope lights this abyss,
Frightening abyss of tears and suffering!

he expressed his most sincere, most intimate filial feelings toward the homeland of Cyril and Methodius, Paisiy of Hilendar, and the Miladinov brothers.

In the very first days of the Liberation, while working as a special missions functionary at the headquarters of the Russian army in Ruse, Vazov was elected president of a committee whose goal was to raise funds and support the Kresnen-Kazlog uprising, which had been called after the Congress of Berlin. His poetic appeal, "Macedonia has risen!" dates from that period. Several years before that, however, in 1872, in Bacău (Romania), he had created the song about the Bulgarian borders so popular and moving even today. The image of native Macedonia in it thrills us after the image of the white Danube:

There, where the troubled Vardar flows
And murmurs through the fields . . .

In Plovdiv, where Ivan Vazov went to work in 1880, he created his first significant pieces dedicated to Macedonia. On his way to Italy with Mikhail Madzharov, the poet stopped in Salonika and for the first time set foot on "the

sacred Macedonian land." The impressions and experiences of this visit gave him themes for his cycle of Macedonian sonnets -- "There!" "We Will Not Give It Up!" "Orpheus' Lyre," "A Visit to a Salonika High School," "Across from Mount Athos," and others -- all of these poems were inspired by the grandeur, glory, and woeful lot of Macedonia. His communion with the rich poetic world offered by the Miladinov brothers' collection of folk songs made the creation of one of his most beautiful poems easier -- "In the Land of the Wood-Nymphs."

Works connected with revolutionary struggles in Macedonia at the end of the last and the beginning of this century deserve special attention. The selflessness of the teacher Ekaterina Avksentieva, a Macedonian Joan of Arc who showed amazing bravery in the face of the oppressors, inspired his poem, "A Heroine." Because of this work, the image of that brave Bulgarian lives today in the consciousness of many generations and awakens genuine reverence and admiration. The tragedy of the hastily called Gorna Dzhumaya uprising in the fall of 1902 resounded in the poet's soul through his poems, "Through the Snowy Rila Mountains," and "Fugitives." In the former, by revealing his sympathy for those fighting for freedom, he did not hide his hatred toward the indifference of European society, which had been demonstrated more than once and during other struggles of the Bulgarian nation:

Blood! Fire! Villages are burning! Heroes are dying!
The world looks on so coldly, impassively.
The awful spectacle is repeated before us
For the thousandth time.

The sufferings of the poor populace, which had been left without food and shelter after the uprising had been crushed, are the subject of the latter poem.

The works which were created after the bloody suppression of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenski uprising have a lyrical elan, found in "The Epic of the Forgotten" and other patriotic songs by Vazov. The alarming reports about the devastating battles at Ohrid, the Vardar River, and in the Pirin Mountains awoke dismay and sadness in his soul. Much stronger, however, were his feelings of enthusiasm and admiration for the deeds of the brave, courageous fighters:

A bow, a bow from us now
To your sword, to your grave.
One who knows how to die thus
Cannot be eternally enslaved.

("There!")

The poem "To Damyan Gruev," intended to commemorate the anniversary of the outstanding revolutionary's death, reminds us again of the sublime tone of "The Epic of the Forgotten." Indeed the name of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenski uprising's organizer was not "forgotten" at the beginning of our century. The pathos of "The Epic," however, is equal to the pathos of this work, to the poet's hatred of freedom's suppressors, and to his enthusiasm for the deed of the hero who died so tragically. And it is not fortuitous that Vazov compared him to the apostle of Bulgaria's freedom:

The hero's leonine vigor lies dormant beneath the snow,
His fiery spirit has died out, his mighty speech fallen silent.
Oh Macedonia, you've lost your Levski,
Your truest son, your strongest sword.

Ivan Vazov also remembers those active in cultural-historical and national liberation struggles in Macedonia during the First World War in his poem, or rather, cycle of poems, "The Shadows' Joy." Together with the moving verses dedicated to Paisiy, the Miladinov brothers, Gotse Delchev, Boris Sarafov, and others, he presents the images of Tsar Samuil and of Mikhail Shishman.

The Ilinden-Preobrazhenski uprising also prompted the plots of several of Vazov's fictional works, such as his stories "Macedonia's Kiss" and "Two Detachments."

Ivan Vazov created many inspired songs about Macedonia during the First and Second Balkan Wars and the First World War. They are included in the collections "Under the Thunder of Victories" (1914), "Songs about Macedonia" (1916), "New Echoes" (1917), and "It Will Not Perish" (1919), respectively. Indeed Vazov was not able to make the distinction between the First Balkan War, which was fought for the unification of the Bulgarian nation, and the adventurism of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, displayed in the other two wars. Literary criticism itself could not separate the poet's pure renaissance patriotism from the chauvinist muddiness of an upper crust that was not and could not represent the Bulgarian people. And Vazov does not live for us today just in several isolated poems, born of the political moment, but in such works as: "Hail, Dear Homeland!" "A Bow," "To Macedonia," "My Songs," "Mama, Where's Daddy?" "A Monument to Bulgarian Might," "Macedonian Heroes," "Overgrown Fields," and many more.

The national poet, with his numerous artistic works, implanted in the souls of several generations a sincere, unadulterated love for the land which had remained enslaved, inculcated sublime renaissance ideals for the Bulgarian brothers beyond the Pirin and Shar, fighting with remarkable dedication so that the flame of Cyril and Methodius' sacred deed and Paisiy's impassioned precepts would not die out.

* * *

But in addition to his poetic word, Ivan Vazov had another mighty weapon -- his political journalism. And he did not miss an opportunity to express in the daily and periodical press his views on the national question and to defend the cause of Bulgaria. We see what broad possibilities the poet had for expressing his socio-political and social views, as a contributor to the newspapers BULGARIYA, MARITSA, SUEDEINENIE, PROGRES, DEN, MIR, the journals MISUL, BULGARSKI PREGLED, LETOPISI, KHULOZHENIK, SVETLINA, DUKHOVNA PROBUDA, as editor of the newspaper NARODNIY GLAS and of the journals NAUKA, ZORA, DENNITSA, SLAVYANSKI GLAS, unacknowledged editor of the newspaper ISTOK (founded by him and K. Velichkov), and of the journal BULGARSKA SBIRKA. And Vazov used these opportunities to serve, with dedication, as a journalist of his people and his homeland.

Ivan Vazov began to speak about the blatant injustices and the difficult situation of the Bulgarians in Macedonia during the very first years of his political journalism. In connection with the political dispute between Turkey and Greece, when the latter received vast territories, he directed the readers' attention to the clauses of the Congress of Berlin that had not yet been applied, this treaty foresaw reforms in Bulgarian lands remaining under the Ottoman Yoke. Who will raise this question and who will struggle for its resolution, Vazov asked himself, the Bulgarian government? But the poet understood well that the statesmen beyond the Balkans were occupied with everything other than the national question. He spoke with irony about the efforts of the Bulgarian "conservatives and obscurantists" who pursued the ideal of building Austrian railways in Bulgaria and joining the country to the policies of the imperialistic West. Vazov knew that Eastern Rumelia, in whose capital he fervently defended the interests of the Bulgarian national spirit, likewise could not provide help to Macedonia because of its political dependence on Turkey. In the meantime, the Macedonian question faced Bulgarian patriots in all its complexity and insolubility. And after dwelling in detail on the well-known methods of the Sublime Porte, i. e., using endless foot-dragging and delays in solving important national and social problems, the poet placed his hopes on the European diplomatic representatives in Plovdiv and counted on their fairness and nobleness. The article ends with the appeal: "It is time to take up the question of Macedonia. The conditions for this are good and favorable. The Bulgarian press here and beyond the Balkans has the great task of undertaking exclusively the awakening of public opinion and stirring the statesmen's activities in both countries," and to reveal to Europe, forcefully, heatedly, and decisively all the flagrant untruth which hovers over our brothers beyond Doopat, the whole horrifying picture of their enslavement, and all the urgency and necessity of fulfilling and applying the Congress of Berlin as quickly as possible" (NARODNIY GLAS, No 178, 7 April 1881).

During the same month, Vazov devoted another emotional article to the Macedonian question: "The Sufferings of the Macedonians Continue and Grow Stronger." Since the poet lived in Bulgaria during the time of the Ottoman Yoke, it was not difficult for him to conclude from scanty information received in Plovdiv that the Bulgarians in Macedonia were suffering the same horrors, that the pillage, imprisonment, and murder of innocent people was a daily occurrence. And he again blamed the passivity of the Principality, whose leaders did not take decisive measures, but after receiving news about the outrages were content to issue just a "precautionary note," to which they did not pay serious attention. No less sharp was his criticism of European diplomacy: "Maybe Europe has its own reasons for feigning deafness and avoiding raising the Macedonian question. But is there any stronger reason for us to raise this question, other than the fact that the Macedonians are brothers and Macedonia is still enslaved?" (NARODNIY GLAS, No 183, 24 April 1881).

Not much time would pass before Vazov was certain that his hopes for nobleness and fairness in Western European diplomacy had been in vain. To the end of his life, however, he would never stop worrying about his Macedonian

* Here Ivan Vazov has in mind the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia.

brothers, disturbing the drowsy conscience of statesmen and politicians, condemning the callousness and cynicism with which the conveners of the Congress of Berlin and their successors "decided" the fates of the Bulgarian people.

Only a few days later, Alexander Battenberg abrogated the Turnovo Constitution. Then the poet opposed, with genuine passion, the suppression of people's freedoms which had been won with many sacrifices. These sharp articles were eagerly devoured in the Principality, where censorship had smothered freedom of the press, and penetrated into oppressed Macedonia as well.

Later Vazov often returned in his political journalism to the Macedonian question, either in deliberate articles or on the occasion of commemorative anniversaries, such as, for example, the celebration of Cyril and Methodius' holiday. In this article Vazov contrasted, not for the first time, the idealism and pure patriotism of the Bulgarian Renaissance to the avidity and greediness of his own time. And when he touched on the images of the brothers from Salonika, he could not contain his enthusiasm for the grandeur of their deeds. "Saints Cyril and Methodius! If we think well about these two names, we will be amazed by the great revolution which they carried out in the spirit of the Bulgarian people, a revolution perhaps as great as the one in the ninth century! By resurrecting the holiday of Saints Cyril and Methodius, we can say that the Bulgarian nation was resurrected!" The image of Macedonia arose in his consciousness when he recalled the merits of the two brothers. There was Salonika, their native city, but oppression and tyranny still reigned there, left by fate as a legacy to our unfortunate compatriots. Bitter was the sorrow which he experienced when he thought that the Bulgarian nation could not help them. "Oh Macedonian brothers! Oh sufferers, a heartfelt bow to you!" (NARODNIY GLAS, No 286, 8 May 1882).

It is necessary to point out that as one who carried on the cherished national precepts of Paisiy, Rakovski, and the Miladinov brothers, Vazov always knew how to fill his publicistic works with emotion. Amazed by the consciousness of the cultural-historical and political revolution wrought by the brothers from Salonika, he compelled his contemporaries to try to "grasp" the meaning of Cyril and Methodius' deeds. Let us note in passing that several decades passed before our philological scholarship took up the study and appraisal of Cyril and Methodius. These and a number of other discoveries of substantial questions concerning our historical and spiritual development also speak quite definitely about the important role which our national poet played in building our national culture.

Unsettling years passed by unnoticed; during this time an important historical event was being prepared and came into being -- uniting the Principality of Bulgaria with Eastern Rumelia, and after that the Serbian-Bulgarian War.

Ivan Vazov was likewise socially involved in the original genre of odds and ends (created by him), printed in the feuilletons of the newspaper MIR. In 1901, when Macedonian revolutionaries kidnapped the American missionary, Miss Stone, in order to provide the necessary means for their armed struggle, many unrestrained attacks in the foreign press were directed against Bulgaria. In STOLICHNI SITNEZH, 3 November 1901, Vazov mocked the "honorable Mr. Dickenson,"

wanted to find in every unfamiliar Bulgarian with a frowning face, whom he met on the streets of Sofia, one of Miss Stone's abductors and perhaps intended to call him aside and enter into negotiations with him for the release of the kidnapped missionary. He directed such shafts at a correspondent for an American newspaper who looked all over Samokov for portraits of the criminals and promised one pound sterling for every portrait. . . . Merely thinking that, with all this uproar in the newspapers, Miss Stone was probably drinking coffee somewhere in the Salonika district, reading the newspapers and chuckling, made Vazov recall -- now quite seriously -- the deadly conditions under which our brothers were living!

But what about the thousands of Bulgarian victims in Macedonia, who now cry helplessly, forgotten by the world? But the world has no business with them!

There is not just one Miss Stone there now; all of Macedonia is filled with grief!

Later Vazov greeted the declaration of the First Balkan War with alarm. After the victorious epic, accomplished by the young Bulgarian army, Bulgaria again faced fateful events. On the eve of the Second Balkan War, Bulgarian students convened a large meeting in Sofia, at which the national poet was invited to serve as chairman. In his speech, with which the meeting was begun, Vazov announced: "After the unheard-of triumphs of our valorous troops, who include our whole nation, after the innumerable sacrifices made for the epic battles on the Thracian fields, we sadly find ourselves today facing a terrible fact. We see that our native Macedonia, for which we have fought, and gloriously concluded the great battle, has fallen under a new yoke, suffering more today, more hopelessly, than under the Turkish Yoke, which had been broken" (MIR, 19, No 3890, 20 May 1913).

УЧЕНИЧЕСКА БЕСЕДА

МЪСЪЛНО ИЛЮСТРИРАНО СПИСАНИЕ

ТЪМЪ

Наша страна, дълга дълга
При Одрин, Неврош и Перле
Наша страна е твоя
На твоята мащабна карта

Наша мащабна карта дълга,
Наша мащабна карта
Светла е света, дълга
Светла е света дълга

О наша страна, дълга,
На света светла е света
Или светла е света
Колкото светла е света

Наша, е света, е света
Наша, е света,
Наша, е света
На света е света

Наша, е света, е света
На света е света, е света
Това, е света, е света
Наша е света, е света

Наша е света, е света

Year IV September 1903 Book 1

UCHENICHESKA BESEDA

Monthly Illustrated Magazine

There!

The fire blazes, the battle rages
At Ohrid, the Vardar and in the Pirin.
The colors wave high
Above the brave son of Macedonia.

The great, expected day has arrived,
The great battle has come,
The world is astounded, stunned,
Destiny itself is perplexed.

Oh how much bravery, courage,
How much fury for these heroic deaths!
The blood, spilled by these heroes,
Will witness their triumph.

A bow, oh brothers, oh fighters
Grand and holy,
A bow, heroes and saints,
For the most exalted dreams.

A bow, a bow from us now,
To your sword, to your grave.
One who knows how to die thus
Cannot be eternally a slave.

Sofia
31 August 1903

I. Vazov

* * *

Together with these articles, Ivan Vazov did not miss a suitable opportunity to raise the still unresolved Macedonian question, in many reviews, commentaries, and reports about books devoted to the history, ethnography, and folklore of Macedonia.

During 1880, B. B. Kharizanov published a pamphlet, "Macedonia, What Is Happening with the Bulgarians in Macedonia, and What Needs to Be Done," about which Vazov wrote a brief review for NAUKA, which he edited. He congratulated the author on his pamphlet, that he had made the effort to remind society about the difficult situation of the Bulgarians in Macedonia. Also in NAUKA, Vazov printed a review of K. Shapkarev's book, "Materials for the Life Story of the Miladinov Brothers, Dimitriya and Konstantin, etc." Vazov stressed that the names of these two outstanding men from Struga are the consolation for one nation. He reminded readers of, among other things, how quickly the names of Benkovski, Kableshkov, and other heroes of our national liberation struggles had been forgotten. Vazov added the Miladinov brothers to that group of martyrs,

who had been almost forgotten by his time. The poet recommended K. Shapkarev's book, though he also made some critical remarks.

Vazov dwelt at greater length, in the journal ZORA, on Shapkarev's "Collection of National Antiquities, Or Bulgarian Folk Tales and Beliefs in Macedonia." He focused his attention on the circumstance that K. Shapkarev had, for the first time, published a more significant book, in which he presented for us the rich, narrative folklore of the Bulgarian people, which had been undeservedly neglected by our folklorists.

Vazov gratefully greeted the book by Ofeykov (pseudonym of Atanas P. Shopov), "Macedonia during the One Thousandth Anniversary of Saint Methodius," published in 1885. Because it contained extremely interesting information about the struggles which the enlightened people in Macedonia had led to preserve the Bulgarian national spirit and its spiritual development, "The Bulgarians in Macedonia," the poet noted, "demonstrate a miraculous vitality." And to avoid his comments seeming to be unfounded, he cited these interesting facts, contained in the book. While in 1882-83, there were in Macedonia and the Odrin region 214 boys' grade schools, 465 primary divisions, with 311 teachers and 14,172 pupils, 23 girls' grade schools and 64 divisions with 36 female teachers and 1,743 pupils, the following academic year there were 322 schools with 435 male teachers, 59 female teachers, and 20,498 pupils. This number of teachers and pupils increased even more during the 1883-84 academic year. "These results," Vazov concluded in his review, "achieved in such a short time demonstrate on their own how groundless the pretensions of our enemies are and, on the other hand, how solid the ground is for our hopes" (ZORA, 1885, No 2, April, p 95)). In the same issue of that journal, Vazov reminded readers of the imminent celebration of the thousandth anniversary of Methodius' death by briefly pointing out the great merits of the two brothers for the Bulgarian nation and all of Slavdom. Vazov did not neglect to record the results, published in European newspapers, of the statistics collected in Macedonia by the "famous scholar Richter."

In the journal DENNITSA, Vazov reported about Stefan Verkovich's "Topographical-Ethnographic Sketch of Macedonia," mentioned Macedonia in his review of "The Kresnen Gorge," informed readers about the pension awarded by the National Assembly to St. Verkovich for his services to the Bulgarian nation, wrote a short commentary about the voluminous book, published in Petersburg by Captain Benderev, "Military Geography and Statistics of Macedonia and Neighboring Regions of the Balkan Peninsula" (1890). On the occasion of the death of Auguste Dozon, he recalled the efforts of the French cultural and social activist, who learned the Bulgarian language during his stay in Macedonia and

* The general results of the statistics are:

Bulgarians	1,124,288
Moslems	360,626
Albanians, Romanians, Serbs and others	422,357
Greeks	59,833
Total:	1,967,104

transcribed folk songs, which he later published as a separate collection. He responded warmly to the book published in 1891 by Shapkarev, "Collection of Bulgarian Folklore, Book One," he acquainted the readers with the folk songs included in it, spoke about the great importance which our outstanding folklorist's deed had for Bulgarian scholarship. He invited the Ministry of National Education to support the efforts of A. Shapkarev and his difficult undertaking. And when D. Miladinov's wife published the second edition of the two brothers' collection, which had already become a bibliographical rarity by his time, Vazov noted: "It is superfluous to recommend to the readers this famous collection of Bulgarian folk songs by the Miladinov brothers; their importance and value is known to every more or less educated Bulgarian." And the poet reckoned, with justification, that no Bulgarian library should be without that important book.

The problems of our cultural-historical and national revolutionary struggles in Macedonia, reflected so extensively in Ivan Vazov's artistic works, are treated as well in a number of other publicistic materials and literary criticism. The fact that they were penned by the highly talented poet contributes much to their colorful language, to their lively expressive style. Emotionally animated, often sprinkled with Vazov's characteristic humor, these writings played an undoubtedly important role in strengthening the national consciousness for several generations. It seems to us, however, that the articles, commentaries, reviews, and notes mentioned here give a clear picture of the boundless love which the national poet nurtured for our Macedonian brother, of the fervent filial dedication with which he worked in the literary field, as the "last Renaissance man," and as the universally acknowledged patriarch of modern Bulgarian literature.

12334

CSO: 2200/145

BRIEFS

MEXICAN AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS—Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Francisco Lopez Camerra, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of Mexico to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials. The ceremony was attended by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Andon Berxholli, department director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU181450 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Sep 83]

TANZANIAN DELEGATION ARRIVES—A delegation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania led by (seiff Sharif Hamad), member of its Central Committee, arrived today in Albania at the invitation of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania. The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Xhorxhi Robo, secretary of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and others. A dinner was given last night by the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania in honor of the Tanzanian delegation, which was attended by Xhorxhi Robo; Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and others. [Text] [AU181450 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 15 Sep 83]

PUBLICATION OF HOXHA'S WORKS—As a result of the continual request of communists, cadres, youth, and working people, and in the context of the 15th anniversary of the publication of the first volume in the series of works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the second edition of this volume has been prepared and published. This volume includes all the documents and other materials published in the first edition, covering the period November 1941 through October 1943, as well as a number of documents covering the same period, which have been published for the first time. The volume also includes an index. [Text] [AU181450 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Sep 83]

LEADERS AT EXHIBITION—An exhibition of articles produced by the innovators of Tirana District opened today. The opening ceremony was attended by Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; Sotir Kocollari, president of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions; Jashar Menzelxhiu, chairman of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee, and others. Since the beginning of this year, the innovators and rationalizers of Tirana District have presented 2,700 suggestions for inventions and rationalization. [Summary] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 83 AU]

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

BULGARIA-VIETNAM LABOR COOPERATION--Sofia, 23 September (BTA)--A delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, led by the minister of labor, Mr Dao Thien Thi, visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the Committee for Labour and Social Affairs. The Vietnamese delegation had talks with a delegation of the committee headed by its chairman, Mr Georgi Evgeniev. Experience was exchanged in the sphere of labour and labour relations, in the sphere of qualifications of executives. Minister Dao Thien Thi was received by the candidate-member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Andrey Lukanov, co-chairman of the Bulgaro-Vietnamese Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. The meeting proceeded in cordial and comradely atmosphere. The Vietnamese delegation visited a number of industrial and construction sites in Sofia and the country. This evening Mr Georgi Evgeniev and Mr Dao Thien Thi signed a 1984 cooperation protocol. [Text] [AU241246 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 23 Sep 83]

CSO: 2020/78

BRIEFS

ECUADOREAN FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS--Luis Valencia Rodriguez, minister of foreign relations for the Republic of Ecuador, has arrived for an official visit to Czechoslovakia. He was met in Prague by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [LD112229 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 11 Sep 83]

FINNISH DELEGATION VISITS IRONWORKS--A delegation of the Finnish People's Democratic League Parliamentary Group led by Veiko Saarto, its chairman, visited the East Slovak Ironworks today accompanied by Jan Marko, first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly. Representatives of the enterprise's economic and political management informed the Finnish guests about the history of the metallurgical combine in East Slovakia and about its place in the Czechoslovak economy, and about the most important modernization projects which are increasing the efficiency of its production. [Text] [LD111928 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 11 Sep 83]

DELEGATION CONTINUES FINNISH VISIT--A delegation of the Federal Assembly led by Alois Indra, presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly which is on an official visit to Finland visited Tampere today. The delegation acquainted itself with the current progress of the city and visited a newly-founded museum in an old workers' firm, Finlayson, and visited the art museum of [word indistinct], a museum of modern visual art which houses works of Finnish and foreign artists. [Text] [LD150550 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 14 Sep 83]

PAPAL VISIT EXPENSES PROTESTED--Vienna: In connection with the pope's visit to Austria a protest demonstration was held in the evening in the center of Vienna. It was linked to a meeting of young socialists. At both events the participants criticized the large sums spent on the pope's visit. According to estimates in the daily press it is costing more than 80 million schillings. By slogans at the demonstration the participants expressed the view that the pope is not the one who could solve the growing economic problems, primarily unemployment among the young in Austria. [Text] [LD131041 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 12 Sep 83]

CSO: 2400/452

ADAM SCHAFF VIEWS STEPS NEEDED TO OVERCOME CRISIS

Revival of Marxist Doctrine

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 13, 30 Mar 83 pp 3,15

[Article by Adam Schaff: "An Overlooked Anniversary"]

[Text] /In the spring of 1982 30 years had passed since the establishment of the Institute for Scientific Cadre Training (IKKN) under the PZPR Central Committee, which was subsequently renamed the Institute of Social Sciences (INS) under the PZPR Central Committee./[printed in boldface]

That had been the supreme party school in the postwar period, of the doctoral studies type. After its closing in 1958, with the idea that by then the institutions of higher education, following their staffing with new cadres deriving chiefly from the INS, could handle on their own the tasks of training Marxist scientific cadres, the experiment was not repeated. The INS, which at its apogee had been training about 400 students at a time in its 3-year curriculum (of the same duration as the general period of doctoral studies in the country), had altogether graduated about 800 students who found employment not only in higher education but also in party and state apparatus, where they held various posts including the highest ones: since then there never has been a time when at least one of the members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee was not a graduate of the INS; this also applies to the membership of the Council of Ministers. This undoubtedly points to the quality and importance of that institute.

I am recalling after all these years the "overlooked" anniversary of that institution--whose founder and director and subsequently rector I had been until its closing--not just for tradition's sake, following the principle that "if you don't praise yourself, who will praise you?" but above all in view of the topical nature of that tradition, in view of the lessons which we can and should draw from it. For there exists a certain analogy to the situation in this respect--then and now: at that time we had lacked a trained Marxist scientific cadre, because for various reasons it did not exist in our "nature," whereas now that cadre has been devastated or weakened by a distinctive "crisis of Marxists" and requires supplanting with a young cadre.

Thus the need for that cadre had existed then and exists now and we had accomplished that task then under conditions that were in one sense worse but in another better than now. Now that we are again facing this task, the

experience of the past is worth considering, on taking into account, of course, the changed conditions.

How and Why Had the IKKN(INS) Been Established?

In the fall of 1951 I was summoned by Roman Zambrowski, the then Central Committee secretary for organizational matters who, referring to Boleslaw Bierut, transmitted to me the following task (at the time I had been deputy director of the Higher Party School): "An institution of the type of the Institute of Red Professorship, known from the history of the 1920s and the 1930s in the USSR, has to be established in order to offset the shortage of our Marxist scientific cadre, with the graduates to be subsequently appointed to institutions of higher education. Consider how to accomplish this task."

To understand the situation in which the party had posed this task, we have to visualize the developments in that field following the Liberation. Not only has this been forgotten but also the views being held in this respect are completely distorted, thus preventing youth from grasping the historical realities. Actually, during that time a process of a deliberate and meticulous reconstruction of the exact shape and nature of the scientific centers and their staffs in Poland had been taking place in Poland following their destruction by the Hitlerite occupier: this meant that the same institutes and departments of instruction as before the war were being re-established and staffed with their old prewar administrators and chairpersons, the same scientific periodicals were being published again, etc. The higher educational institutions and scientific centers which had existed on the Eastern Lands in the part of Poland incorporated by the USSR were relocated to the west: Vilnius to Torun, Lvov to Wroclaw, upon likewise reconstituting their prewar structure and personnel. And yet, before the war there had been no Marxist scientific cadre at institutions of higher education, and the extremely few communists were liquidated by Hitler. We soon faced a strange situation: to be sure, the old institutions were rebuilt and resumed their old disciplines and schools of thought untouched by time, but that did not include Marxism--in a socialist country. Clearly, this situation had to be changed, but how?

This logically led to the idea of emulating the Institute of Red Professorship which had been founded in Moscow in the 1920s in a similar situation and for a similar purpose. But there was a fundamental difference: at that time the old Bolsheviks had included a cadre of qualified lecturers and pedagogues. We had not had such a cadre: our old Marxist cadre--and at one time we had quite a sizable cadre within the Polish Communist Party (KPP) and the Left Wing of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS-Lewica), was nearly totally destroyed. We faced a difficult task and our hands were empty. On the other hand, at that time there was no shortage of faith and enthusiasm.

I accepted the task, saying yes, but this positive answer was not dictated by any blessed "innocence": I had been fully aware of the difficulty and complexity of the task. I believe that the feeling of fear is unfamiliar to

children in certain situations, because they do not realize their danger. This also happens sometimes with adults.

The IKKN was established to train doctoral students in the party, on assuming from the outset that its curriculum would be of the "real," difficult kind, without any indulgence, as otherwise it could not accomplish its tasks. Achieving this kind of goal required suitable students and faculty.

Soon it turned out that the first requirement was easier to meet than the second.

So far as eligible students were concerned, I was given far-reaching powers facilitating the task: I had the right to "requisition" party members with higher educational background from any institution in which they were working, inclusive of the party apparatus, the armed forces and security personnel. "Hassle" could not always be avoided--the institutions affected by my "requisitioning" sometimes tried to resist (in vain), but our recruitment plan was fulfilled fairly rapidly. Those doctoral students were not ordinary: they were mostly older than the usual doctoral students and, what is more important, they were people who had experienced a lot, often including wartime combat and, most importantly, they represented an idealist element devoted to the party. With such people one could--once the party gave the order--boldly assault the objective of doctoral degree.

It was much more difficult to find suitable faculty, for reasons mentioned above. So an original solution had to be applied, which I shall describe in a moment. We began with four lecturers having professorial rank--I will name them according to seniority: Arnold (a historian), Stanislaw Ehrlich (theory of government and law), Adam Schaff (philosophy) and Tadeusz Kronski (history, philosophy). Somewhat later we were joined by Jadwiga Stokierska (aesthetics), who had just returned from the USSR: she was the wife of an eminent KPP activist, Bobinski, and had herself once attended the Institute of Red Professorship. The size of the faculty was too small for our needs (we invited guest lecturers), the more so considering that the Institute was structured on the "tutorship" principle, with each student being assigned a regular mentor keeping track of his progress, with whom the student had to meet once a week and who also directed his doctoral dissertation. A neck-breaking experiment had to be attempted: a group of particularly advanced and gifted students had to be selected so that they would simultaneously act as "tutors" to their less advanced fellow students. If there exist workers-peasants, why should not students-professors exist as well? In this place let me recall the names of the students endowed with this strange--from the standpoint of the normal concepts of the academic world--rank: Wlodzimierz Brus, Bronislaw Baczko, Leszek Kolakowski and others. The experiment succeeded splendidly, in the process demolishing the accepted stereotypes. Besides that was the only way in which we could accomplish our task.

Naturally, though, such hazardous experiments met with skepticism among older and more experienced people (we had been saved precisely by our lack of such experience). I remember a conversation with Franciszek Mazur, a comrade with

considerable experience in the party and in life, who had been at the time the steward of the party's finances and whom for this very reason I had to ask for material resources (premises, furniture, funds, etc.). He said: "Of course, I'll give you whatever you need, because such is the decision, but the idea is aborted: you will fail, because you lack a large enough faculty. He had made the same comment, besides, on the idea of founding MYSL FILOZOFICZNA, as a periodical for Marxist philosophy. In both cases he was wrong, because he hewed to certain stereotypes. The INS developed into a party school of high quality, with its doctoral studies reaching the highest level in the country.

MYSL FILOZOFICZNA became a philosophy periodical at a high level. This happened even though we began our work practically in the absence of a faculty in the traditional meaning of that word in academe. The INS owed this success to the high ideological level of its youthful faculty and the style of its work.

Teacher-Training Functions of the INS

As noted previously, the INS trained Ph.D.'s for staffing educational institutions (though it, of course, also fulfilled other scientific-ideological functions). The point was after all not only to elevate the scientific level of students but also to train persons with academic degrees that would make them eligible to teach at institutions of higher education and thus exercise pedagogical influence on the masses of university youth. Thus our students selected some or other field of studies for their future career in some or other university department. In principle, a student was supposed to complete and defend his dissertation within 3 years, but in practice a period of 4 years was tolerated.

The curriculum was divided into two parts: general--philosophy and economics, which were required of all students; and specialized, depending on the topic of the dissertation. Both required passing a battery of--truly difficult--examinations. But the principal concern was the doctoral dissertation. In this respect the student had to see his "tutor" once a week for an hour's talk on his progress and "problems." The latter became a veritable plague to many, because the concepts underlying the formulation of these "problems" were not always adequate and a kind of "trade" was sometimes practiced among the affected students: "Give me some problem for this week and I'll repay the debt next week." But there was plenty of work to do, and to this day, whenever I meet the families of the former alumni, I listen to the gripes--especially voiced by their wives--about the nightmarish amount of work demanded, which sometimes required sitting up till dawn.

In its way, the INS had provided its students with conditions that were luxurious for the times: not only materially but also by opening to them full access to literature otherwise not available in the country (remember that those were the 1950s). We subscribed regularly to more than 250 periodicals (because Kolakowski was interested in church affairs, we also subscribed to all Vatican periodicals). We acquired new Western publications. But the principal luxury was the firmly followed principle of freedom and tolerance of discussion at a countless number of disciplinary and interdisciplinary

seminars. For this very reason, contrary to the implications that might be inferred from the task set to the Institute, it did not at all become a "bastion" of the janissaries of dogmatic Marxism. Instead, we produced a little of everything: hard-liner dogmatists who to this day make fearful noises in the country; a "verkhushka" [Russian term, here meaning loose topsoil] of students who were for the most part blown away from the country by the cold wind following 1968 and to this day make fearful noises abroad on having changed from the uniform of young Stalinists into the uniform of dissidents, and in some cases even renegades. But these are the extremes and a majority of our graduates work peacefully in the country, holding teaching, party and government--often the highest--posts.

The graduates of the INS were in principle of high quality, and to this day it is a distinction to have a degree from that institution--this is proof of diligent and thorough studies. In some fields the INS was the first to initiate research of importance to national culture, which is being continued to this day by various other institutions, e.g. the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences. Few people are aware--although this is an incontrovertible fact--that the study of the history of philosophy in Poland--the first genuinely serious research in this field--had been conceived at the INS, where was born a new school of the history of that philosophy, subsequently transferred by INS graduates to the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (where it was complemented with a tremendously important part of that history--the Middle Ages) and to the Department of Philosophy, Warsaw University. And yet this is what had happened. On pondering the directions of our philosophical activity at the INS we concluded that the sole original and specific field for us in our situation was the history of Polish philosophy which, for some strange reason, had been seriously neglected in our historiography. Thus we selected a group of our ablest students and I announced to them, in my capacity as the rector, that they will henceforth specialize in that field. There was no end to weeping, for "systematic" philosophy had been thought of as something "better," but at that time the party's orders were obeyed. Thus a beautiful school was created, and subsequently cultivated outside the INS, and every student in that group has to this day remained a historian of philosophy or in some cases of Polish philosophy; it is only a pity that a number of gifted individuals have emigrated.

Were the alumni of the INS to be aligned into a procession, we would perceive an exceptional gallery of individuals, including eminent ones, representing the entire gamut of contemporary Marxist ideology: from hard-liners to dissidents. And perhaps this is the reason why, despite urgings, it has been decided to "overlook" this 30th anniversary of the INS. This is a pity because as we already pointed out, we are dealing with an instructive history not only regarding the past but also and above all regarding the future. We all simply need a new edition of the INS.

What Would a Revived INS Be Like?

Nowadays we need something like the INS even though, as we noted above, the situation at present is different, and not just only as regards cadre shortages. For at the time we had lacked a cadre of trained Marxists but we had a cadre of motivated individuals devoted to the party, whereas now there is no shortage of persons trained in Marxism--we had trained them variously during all those years and they include many capable individuals and "learned men of letters," but this new cadre is often politically uncertain and hence it lacks motivation and devotion to the party. Formerly the task had been difficult but simpler--it concerned augmenting the store of appropriate knowledge--this precisely is what a school is for, and the INS was such a school. Nowadays, of course, this also concerns knowledge, particularly as regards young people, but political motivation counts foremost--the school cannot cope with this task. The task can be accomplished only by a change in the country's political climate, rather than by indoctrination. Thus, that change in political climate is a necessary condition, but--in the light of the current "crisis of Marxists"--it is not a sufficient condition. A school representing a kind of revived INS as a school for training the scientific cadre (that is, an IKKN rather than an INS) is needed.

To accomplish its task, such a school must meet at least the following two conditions:

First, its faculty must be genuine scholars capable of teaching Marxism at the level of the problems of contemporary science rather than in the form of a sterile scientifically "orthodox" pabulum of banalities. Such individuals do exist in our country and they should be selected and mobilized not through the verdict of petty bureaucrats (even those holding high posts) who dread responsibility, and even more so independent thinking, but through the decision of genuine Marxist scholars.

Secondly, such a school should operate on the principle of freedom of discussion and tolerance of various schools of thought in Marxism, at least to the extent that had marked the atmosphere at the INS. However one may think, the fact is that the INS could afford this freedom and tolerance in the 1950s (whereas now the times have changed).

The situation is facilitated by the availability of material resources for such a project (it would be enough to transform the Institute of the Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism (IPFML) into something that is really needed nowadays, without forfeiting the research projects currently pursued there. Of course, this would necessitate not only changing the direction of action of that institution but also changes in the make-up of its faculty to satisfy the spirit of the proposal made above.

The problem of finding potential students is relatively simple: recruitment for the thus altered school would not be difficult.

That would be the best way of commemorating the anniversary of the INS. The implementation of this idea may be obstructed by certain imponderabilia known to all, but that is not an exceptional situation in Poland, where imponderabilia hamper the implementation of ponderabilia. Yet the matter deserves consideration, if only on the occasion of the anniversary. And even if this idea may not be feasible, it is a beautiful fairy tale, all the same, as the poet says.

Church-State Dialogue Necessary

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 13, 30 Mar 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Adam Schaff: "Cooperation--Dialogue: In Deed"]

[Text] /Much is being said nowadays in Poland about dialogue: the authorities mention this word in their appeals to the society for unity in dialogue. It is also mentioned by representatives of various segments of society who appeal to the authorities for a dialogue with society. To be sure, the impression arises that, in speaking of "dialogue," those who appeal for it interpret it differently depending on the bloc from which these appeals emanate and the purposes they are intended to serve. Yet this term has a certain general and, I would say, neutral meaning: a dialogue means a conversation between two partners holding different views on the same issue and wishing to convince each other about the justice of each other's views./ [printed in boldface]

There is no doubt that in the present situation of crisis and a divided public opinion in Poland we have an unusual and I even would say vital need for a dialogue. But if this dialogue is to produce specific results instead of being limited to mere talk, and if the chance for such results is to be gained, the multiple connotations of this term, the different meanings and forms of dialogue, and the specific nature of the partners in the dialogue all have to be understood.

I believe that in our conditions, in view of the aforementioned division of public opinion, we should begin by considering the issue of partnership.

Dialogue, Yes-- But With Whom?

Normally the answer is: of course, the dialogue of the government with the society. This issue is not only far from self-evident but formulated in an evidently fallacious manner.

After all, such an answer implies that we are dealing with two parts representing closed entities: the government here and the society there. But this is absolute nonsense serving to lull naive people into the blessed sleep of simplicity of the situation.

The government? What do we mean by this term? The Council of Ministers, or the Council of Ministers together with the administrative apparatus linked with it, together with the allied parties and their political apparatus as well, together with the industrial and commercial agencies of the ministries, etc., etc? Thus the question is whether this means the Council of Ministers and the Politburo alone or that complex whole which can be roughly estimated to consist of millions of people and to which one should also add the armed forces, the militia, the judiciary system, etc? Of course, this is not a matter only of an isolated handful of "decisionmakers," because only a simpleton would thus view the machinery of power, "the government." Thus, when we speak of "the government," we really think of a part of the society, and a sizable one at that, including family members.

Now then, what about that society, even after we deduct from it its above-mentioned part? Is that society a distinct partner for political dialogue who at least in general has a single voice and agreed-upon wishes? Why should we be kidding? After all, we are aware that internal division exists and that the saying "Kto do Sasa, a kto do lasa" [Some support the Saxon (king) and some escape to the forests] fits not only the Saxon era. Shortly before the death of Mieroszewski, a well-known Polish emigre publicist, the Paris KULTURA had published his political essay of the science fiction type on what would happen were the emigre government to regain power in Poland. His vision was as follows: a score or so of political parties engaged in mortal combat would immediately arise, the economy would decline and a military putsch would save the country from a catastrophe. He concluded: "Only then we would realize the true meaning of dictatorship!" As it happens, Polish society is politically fragmented and no one will speak in unison except as regards opposing the existing situation. It is simply a mistake in political reasoning to regard Solidarity as a monolithic organization with a monolithic policy. This is a tragic misunderstanding, because Solidarity had been a composite mixture ranging from the nationalist KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland] at one extreme to the anarchist-radical KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers] at the other, with the middle running a gamut of of varied orientations, not only the extremal ones, let alone the mass of rank-and-filers confused by all this. No, not even if by some miracle Solidarity were resurrected, it would not be a partner in the dialogue: it would be a non-partner.

And yet, as we noted previously, Poland needs urgently such a dialogue if the situation is to develop positively. Who are the potential, real partners in that dialogue? The authorities (in the broad meaning of the word) and the Church.

Lately the meaning of the word "dialogue" that has gained currency is that of a dialogue between believers and non-believers. The Vatican has even established a Secretariate for the Affairs of Non-Believers, whose domain is dialogue. This will be further discussed later when we undertake an analysis of the plurisignificance of the word "dialogue." But, to skip across the stages in our comprehension of this word, precisely because its most recent connotation is spreading, we must emphasize that this is not what we mean when we speak of a dialogue in Poland. In view of the existence of an absolute

majority of believers--though they may not always be practicing believers--in our country, who also exist among party members, that is, among members of what we term "the authorities," speaking of dialogue as a dialogue between believers and unbelievers would only be misleading. In our country, dialogue--as thus construed--is a dialogue between believers and believers (who, on the other hand, in an overwhelming majority differ in their political-social views and tendencies, which does not at all mean that they differ in their fundamentally positive views of socialism. It is their views of particular aspects of socialism that differ. This deserves an explicit emphasis, because it is one of the specific features of the Polish situation.

When we speak of "the Church" we mean, of course, not only the institution of church hierarchy but also the believers linked in one way or another to the Church. In Poland, as we noted above, they account for a tremendous majority of the society. Thus a dialogue with the Church is a dialogue with a significant part of the society. The Church is an institutionalized partner in the dialogue, which vastly facilitates the dialogue's course. Without going into detail or appraisals--in this context they are dispensable--it suffices to state the fact that the dialogue between the authorities and the society must at present be mediated by the dialogue with the Church. This does not exhaust the problem: of course, other forms and ways of that dialogue exist, but the route leading through the Church is the principal avenue. It is this that is of decisive importance to further reflections on the topic. Before we consider the heart of the matter, however, we must have a thorough grasp of what we mean here by "dialogue" and what forms it assumes.

Three Meanings of the Term 'Dialogue'

The first and most general meaning of the term 'dialogue' has already been mentioned above: this concerns a conversation between two partners representing different attitudes toward the same issue, with each partner attempting to demolish the arguments of his adversary and thus achieve dominance of his own thesis in the dispute.

Dialogue in this first meaning of the term is the basis for its other and more specific connotations which are of interest to us in the context of what we term the dialogue between the authorities and the Church; for in the first case the partners in the dialogue strive to emphasize the differences separating their views while in the second they attempt to find a common ground for their otherwise diametrically opposed attitudes, on "suspending" as it were what divides them.

I would call the first variant of dialogue thus construed a dialogue of struggle and the second, a dialogue of cooperation.

Now the second meaning of the term 'dialogue' in the context of interest to us overlaps with what we termed above the dialogue of struggle. This is the traditional meaning of the dialogue between believers and non-believers which has actually been taking place during the last 20 years in this domain, although this was not a pure "dialogue of struggle," because partners of good will included in it also elements of "dialogue of cooperation." It may

even be that the latter dialogue has been the principal purpose of the initiators of those international talks conducted by Marxists all over the world with representatives of believers, chiefly of the Catholic Church, but willy-nilly it has been freighted by that dialogue of struggle which divides instead of uniting. That was something similar to medieval theological disputes: I can speak of this from personal experience as a participant in that dialogue. Because, when the dichotomy between believers and non-believers is taken as the point of departure, the issue ultimately reduces to the problem of faith in the existence of a supernatural being.

Dialogue of this kind is, as we have said, utterly barren in Poland: first, because in a society whose absolute majority consists of believers the dispute is waged, properly speaking, as we already pointed out, between believers differing in their socio-political views rather than between believers and non-believers; secondly, because such a dispute, which actually reduces to the issue of faith, can produce no positive results and in this sense is futile. One either believes or does not believe--rational arguments cannot convince an atheist to believe in God or a believer to accept the tenets of atheism. Faith is, according to theology, a justified attitude, although a non-believer would not agree with this formulation presupposing the existence of a divine being--it is a matter of mercy, */gratiae Dei/*. The atheist will claim otherwise, although essentially he will say the same thing. He will declare that all philosophical disputes arrive sooner or later at premises which cannot be empirically demolished by means of some */experimentum crucis/* or corroborated by a single experimental action. The only thing that then remains amenable to a rational dispute is recognizing the difference in views, acknowledging the impossibility of resolving the dispute by some single experimental action and...parting, each in his own direction. Therein lies the "strength" (and perhaps weakness?) of philosophers, and in this way all the fundamental problems of philosophy, especially those of the theory of existence (ontology) belong in the type of */philosophiae aeternis/*, "eternal philosophy," in the sense that they have been argued over the millennia, throughout the history of philosophy. They can be ultimately eliminated only by rejecting such philosophical problems as nonsensical (this is what the Neo-Positivists attempted). What we have said above concerns for example the dispute between materialism and spiritualism as well as the dispute between atheism and belief in God.

This dispute is, as we stated earlier, "futile," in the sense that it is known a priori to be unresolvable. But that unresolvability exists because the arguments of both parties follow different "planes"--as they are termed in geometry--straight lines, that is, lines which do not intersect at all. In such a situation, the proponents of the arguments of one line--faith--cannot come into contact with the proponents of the arguments of the other line--science; they resemble, as it were, fencing masters, who practice their art on two different floors, without actually engaging in a duel, no matter how much they brandish their foils and exert themselves.

Such is precisely the situation of faith and science--those two different non-intersecting "floors," with the champions of both being separated by the space between parallel planes or divergent straight lines (whichever of these two

metaphors may be preferred). Science is aware of this and does not hazard losing its status qua science by resorting to arguments over religious faith. When Laplace explained to Napoleon the principles of his system, the latter asked him, "And where is the room for God?" Laplace answered: "Sire, I don't find that hypothesis necessary." This anecdote sheds clear light on the situation. This does not mean that, as claimed by opponents of that view, science is everything and there is no room outside it for other human experiences. Man is such a complicated being that, of a certainty, he also needs emotional experiences, experiences linked to religious faith, etc. His nature is thus often self-contradictory, as when he desires to mesh science with religion in his convictions. I can illustrate this by the example of the renowned physiologist of the brain and winner of the Nobel Prize in that field (deservedly!), who in pietist amazement at his discovery of the intricate structure of the human brain, regards it as a proof of the existence of God, because, as he put it, the genesis of that structure cannot be comprehended unless the idea of a supernatural being is accepted. I have had the honor of meeting Sir Eccles on the "compacted ground" of discussion on that topic at the Alpbach Forum (Austria), and one did not have to be Wolodyjowski [a boisterous character in Sienkiewicz] to drub him in the discussion by demonstrating the absence of logic in his reasoning. As a reward for the solution offered to him in the form of the doctrine of "two truths," taken from theology (and deriving as far back as from Thomas of Aquinas), Sir Eccles felt mortally insulted by me, although I was superdelicate and elegant in my arguments; he was probably still smarting from the brutal--but true--qualification of his views as utter nonsense by the well-known Argentine philosopher Mario Bunge at the philosophical congress in Duesseldorf (who champions extremely materialist--but not Marxist--tenets. Bunge declared this in public, which is impolite toward a scientist who after all won a Nobel Prize, but what he said is true.

But while science does not confuse its views with religious faith, although it acknowledges various functions of that faith in human life, the Catholic Church has lately been explicitly tending in the converse direction, which point to its growing inferiority complex vis a vis science. This had not been the case in the past, when religious faith was placed first and the doctrine of two truths--the earthly truth and the revealed truth--was conceived, on proclaiming the superiority of the former and at the same time the validity and separateness of the "earthly," scientific truth. Nowadays the intent is to corroborate religious truth by science--by Eccles's reasoning. This is unnecessary and a disservice to religious faith. In that domain, science has nothing to say, unless those who claim otherwise do not know--philosophically--what they are doing. It has happened more than once that great scientists eminent in their own disciplines were as naive as children when they began to philosophize (another example: Einstein), simply because philosophy also is a science which has to be learned, although philosophizing seems easy to anyone and is unfortunately often done without proper training. Long ago already, Hegel complained for this reason about the fate of philosophers and

physicians: he said that no one would want to repair shoes unless he is a shoemaker, yet many believe that they can philosophize and provide medical advice in the absence of the necessary competences.

These reflections lead to a simple conclusion in the context of the issues discussed here: we are not concerned with this kind of dialogue, and we do not need it in Poland, although--of course--no one can be forbidden to "philosophize" on his own about this topic as well. What we really and urgently need is a "dialogue of cooperation."

Cooperation is Dialogue in Action

Our starting premise was the statement that "Repairing the Republic" requires a dialogue between the authorities and the Church in Poland, because this is the sole path toward national unity. This path is neither easy or straight; on the contrary, it bristles with obstacles and barriers put upon it by both parties. But we must take this path if the change in the current crisis situation is to become a reality. The dialogue with the Church also offers access to broad masses of a fragmented or even hostile--toward the authorities--society. But in such a situation this must be a dialogue in the third specified meaning of the term--a dialogue of cooperation.

As we pointed out previously, partners who greatly differ in their views may also engage in a dialogue, if they are aware of the existence of a common ground of convictions within whose framework they might want to /cooperate/ and /should/ cooperate for the sake of translating into reality mutually recognized values. In logic such a situation is depicted in the form of two circles forming two different conceptual domains which overlap in some part, thus forming a common domain. If the authorities and the Church are depicted in this graphic manner, will we also derive such a common domain accommodating the views of /all/ Poles? Of course, yes! Despite the thousands of differences, such a common domain or ground exists: it is the interests of the country, interpreted not abstractly--because then we would return to the domain of differences--but concretely, in the sense of all that threatens /hic et nunc/ its development or even existence (although many people still prefer to close their eyes to this terrible truth even while they utter the name of Poland). We are being plagued by the economic crisis; by the demoralization of the society--thievery, bribe-taking, alcoholism, etc.; by the shirking of industrious work without which we cannot pull the nation's cart out of the morass; by the reigning bureaucracy, which smothers human initiative; by the problems of upbringing youth, etc., etc. All this represents a /common/ ground, even though the views on ways of solving these problems may differ and involve heated disputes. This also is the issue; this also is a dialogue, but a dialogue of /cooperation/, since the disputations are oriented toward a /common/ goal. This precisely is the kind of dialogue we need in Poland.

As known, in the dialogue between the authorities and the Church, debatable issues, whose resolution is essential to cooperation, will also surface: there are many such issues to both parties, because both parties have various--and often justified--pretensions toward each other. But the point is that shared concerns and goals should not be lost from sight, that that dialogue of /cooperation/ be conducted.

Is that dialogue possible? Of course, specific examples exist. The Polish Catholic Church is not the only one in the world: Catholic Churches exist in

various parts of the world and various countries, and the example they provide is an affirmative answer to our question. This concerns parts of the Catholic Church that are in no way inferior to ours as regards fidelity to faith. In recent years I have had many practical experiences in this respect. I am leaving aside the countries of Latin America, whose particular situation is causing a vast radicalization of the clergy, which often fights as part of leftist guerrillas with weapon in hand and sometimes supports extremely radical social tenets. Let us instead consider the example of Spain, where not only the Jesuits and Dominicans (nowadays the two most radical orders) but also village curates sometimes officially belong to the communist party (this situation also exists in Italy) or even acknowledge Marxism (of course, its social tenets rather than its philosophy). Let me recall a personal and touching experience--my friendship with Alfons Comin (dead 2 years since), a deeply believing and practicing Catholic, member of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party, an intellectual of the purest water, and author of a number of books, who had tenaciously adhered to Marxism. Such instances could be multiplied.

Is this possible only abroad? Of course, I do not mean that our Catholic clergymen should now proclaim adherence to Marxism: this is precluded, not only owing to the current "crisis of Marxists" in our country but also because our Church is among the most conservative in the world. But we can undoubtedly afford a genuine "dialogue of cooperation." If only because both Papal encyclicals--the encyclicals of the /Polish/ Pope--/Redemptor hominis/ and /Laborem exercens/, not only open the road toward such a dialogue but even /appeal/ for it.

The encyclical /Redemptor hominis/ deals with problems of alienation. It proclaims that, among other things, man is the Church's main road, and it appeals to the Church that it engage in dialogue with all men of good will to translate into reality the related tasks. This encyclical is a masterwork of intellectual labor and at the same time a proof of the courage of its author who uses a church document to introduce actual and urgent social issues into the Catholic doctrine. This perhaps is why this encyclical is remarkable. It is certainly paradoxical that the organizer of an international symposium on this encyclical (held in Alpbach, Austria) was a Marxist, the author of the present article. It is characteristic that the theologians "assigned" to that symposium actually made no mention of the encyclical, whereas it was discussed by a Spanish communist and the present writer. But in Poland, after all, things should be different! If only because this is a (thoroughly) /Polish/ Pope.

The path toward such a dialogue of cooperation is also opened by the second encyclical, /Laborem exercens/, which, to the horror of certain circles of believers (in Austria one could even learn this from newspapers), proclaims the priority of labor over capital and does not draw back from declaring that in certain situations private ownership is not something sacred and inviolable. This encyclical moreover boldly touches upon current social issues ensuing in the field of labor from the second industrial revolution. This encyclical, too, opens the road toward a "dialogue of cooperation," and for this reason the Pope has supported the initiative of the Club of Rome for

commencing a great worldwide drive and studies relating to juvenile labor in the present era. Three organizations sponsor at present this drive: the Papal Academy, the Club of Rome and the International Council for Social Sciences (the present writer has the honor of directing the agency coordinating this project, which will be carried out on every continent). Can Poland be missing here?

Of course, we in Poland have a broad range of our own issues for consideration in such a dialogue. I cited the encyclicals as proof that the initiative for that dialogue originates from the Church itself. On the basis of experience I can predict that our own contribution to that initiative would also meet with the support of the highest Church authorities.

There is a genuine need for a "dialogue of cooperation" in Poland. The success of that dialogue depends, however, on conscientious partnership, on /both/ parties. Such a dialogue cannot be conducted for the sake of appearances and with the intention of cutting the ground from under the feet of one's partner: it would immediately collapse, to the delight of those opposed to this idea, who are not lacking on /both/ sides. And that would be a pity, an irreparable loss. Because such a dialogue offers a great and valuable chance to the entire nation.

1336

CSO: 2600/1317

ENSURING MEDICAL ASSISTANCE DURING RAIDS

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 1, Jan-Mar 83 pp 5-10

[Article by Med Col Dr Vladimir Vintonic]

[Text] Insofar as raids are complex battle actions, they must be prepared in great detail from a medical standpoint.

The chief medical officer of the higher echelon will take measures to reinforce the battalion's medical position with medical and sanitary personnel, and to provide sanitary and pharmaceutical supplies for 4-5 days, taking into consideration the possibility of having to perfuse blood substitutes to the wounded who show vital signs.

The volume of medical aid provided to the wounded and ill during a raid is selective and based on the "delayed urgency" principle.

Particular attention will be devoted to the evacuation of the wounded and ill. Health losses will be reduced due to the element of surprise, to the fact that battles will be engaged for limited durations, on terrain that has been carefully studied previous to the engagement, and because the fighting men will have extensive fighting experience and good physical resistance.

During the execution of a raid, emphasis will be placed on the application of sanitary, hygienic, and antiepidemic measures regarding the food and water supply of military personnel.

Measures will be taken to prevent physical and psychological exhaustion of the fighting men through the use of energizers, and of amphetamines only in extreme circumstances.

Military hygiene; field medicine

As part of a people's war in defense of the nation, one of the frequently used forms of battle is the raid. Its purpose is to destroy important enemy objectives which are located far from the battle line: command posts, launching ramps for tactical missiles, supply bases, art works, communication nodes, and so on.

Raids can be carried out by an infantry or tank battalion, supported by subunits from other branches, and can last 2-4 days. The battalion can act with all its subunits joined together, or its subunits can act separately. In some situations, raids can be executed with the strength of a reinforced company.

The most important task of higher echelon medical services in providing medical assistance for raids, is to reinforce the medical service of a battalion with one doctor and 1-2 lower grade personnel (sanitary non-commissioned officers), so that medical aid can be efficiently provided for to those who are wounded and ill during the raid.

Before departure for a raid, the medical service will see to it that the fighting personnel is reminded of the major measures to be taken for mutual and self-aid in case of wounds or illness.

Keeping in mind that the supply of pharmaceutical and sanitary materials will be interrupted for 2-4 days, and that the evacuation of the wounded and ill to rear lines will be very difficult, the quantity and variety of drugs and bandages transported both by the medical service and by each fighting man will be increased during the raid.

Since the volume of medical aid during a raid becomes substantial, one of the following approaches will be used to evacuate the wounded and ill:

Transportation along with fighting subunits and delivery to resistance fighters at predetermined points, or if the situation allows it, evacuation by air, and preferably by helicopter;

Delivery of certain categories of wounded and ill to the local civilian population, for pickup during the return trip if the subunit is to follow the same itinerary. If the return trip follows another route, the wounded and ill will be evacuated at another time. The chief medical officer of the fighting subunit (motorized infantry or tank battalion) will ask the higher echelon to evacuate these wounded and ill.

Keeping in mind that those participating in the raid are military personnel in good physical condition with special training for this kind of fighting, we estimate that health losses will be small while passing through enemy barrages, rapidly executing demolition projects, or disabling the enemy's fighting resources and means of mass destruction.

The subunits which provide protection and cover the action, will engage in fights of limited duration from protected positions, on terrain that has been previously studied in detail, as a result of which health losses will be minimal.

Wounds will be produced primarily by conventional weapons: bullets, shell splinters, cuts, stabs, and burns.

If the infantry (tank) battalion chooses to organize the defense within the area of a resistance detachment located in enemy territory, the wounded and ill will be transported to the interior of the area controlled by the resistance detachment, where a battalion medical service will be established in the field, reinforced with additional medical forces as well as with sanitary and pharmaceutical means, and where all medical and even specialized aid will be provided as a function of existing medical personnel.

During moves, the medical service will be located in the battalion column ahead of materiel supply subunits; the other subunits will be reinforced with health and sanitary non-commissioned officers, and with sanitary materials, thus being in a position to independently carry out their medical aid activities.

During marches, the wounded will be given first aid (self-aid, mutual aid) in the means of transportation used by the units (trucks, TAB's, and so on).

We believe that during the execution of a raid, the doctor should be as close as possible to the battalion command post, so that he may be constantly informed about the conduct of the march, fighting actions, and health losses, and thus in a position to intervene appropriately.

The chief medical officer of the battalion conducting the raid performs various preparatory activities to organize and provide medical aid, as well as sanitary, hygiene, and antiepidemic measures for the fighting action.

During the preparation for the raid, the doctor will become acquainted in detail with the mission, studying topographic maps, documents, and information obtained from the population, in order to be aware of available roads, water sources, enemy positions in the strip of land covered by the raid, medical formations, and will particularly note the objectives and lines at which the fighting might occur and cause health losses, thus being in a position to adopt optimum methods and solutions for acting on these losses.

In general, water will be obtained from local supplies used by the resistance forces, from free zones, or in extreme need, from sources verified to be currently used on the territory temporarily occupied by the enemy.

Considering that the duration of a raid is generally four days, we do not believe it necessary, except in extraordinary circumstances when the area does not offer available water supplies, that the battalion carry all its water resources, calculating for this purpose a minimum quantity of 4-5 liters of water per fighting man.

The personnel participating in the raid will be fed with preserved food, as well as with processed meat (dry salami, ham) that can be stored for 4-5 days without special conditions. The military personnel will carry on their person foods high in calories (carbohydrates in the form of sugar, jams, marmalades, and so on). It is indicated that a hot meal prepared from food concentrates be served at least once a day, or if this is not possible, excessively sweetened hot tea, also at least once per day.

Depending on the information developed from a study of the mission and of the action organization and execution documents, the doctor together with subunit commanders will establish ways and means for cooperation during the march and final action, and depending on the specific details of each subunit's task, will distribute medical and sanitary forces and resources, drugs, bandages, and other materiel.

In principle, the transportable wounded will continue the move with their own means of transportation. Those who are seriously wounded and non-transportable will receive urgent medical aid, and depending on circumstances, will be turned over to the civilian population or resistance fighters.

Wounds can be received primarily during reconnaissance, removal of impediments to the advance of infantry and tanks, at crossing points, water fords, as well as during the demolition of fortifications, transmission nodes, command posts, rocket launching installations, flight control centers, or fuel and munition stores.

The medical personnel of subunits that participate in the raid should place themselves in the immediate vicinity of command posts, in order to be constantly aware of health losses and benefit from liaison and support if needed.

The delivery of medical aid will apply the principle of "delayed urgency" through large scale use of broad spectrum antibiotics for preventing wound infections.

As part of shock control measures, medical noncommissioned officers and medics in subunits must be in a position to perform, even at the wounding location, perfusions of plasma, serums, electrolyte solutions, and macromolecular blood substitutes, all of which implies appropriate training and supplies.

During marches for raids, particular stress will be placed on the execution of sanitary, hygienic, and antiepidemic measures.

High nervous tension associated with the importance and difficulties inherent in fulfilling the mission, as well as intense physical effort, will cause neuromuscular exhaustion. In order to obtain higher resistance to effort and consistency in fighting actions, we believe it necessary to organize the medical service on the principle of "shifts" and to provide compulsory backups for drivers of fighting vehicles.

If 2-3 days have elapsed since the beginning of the fighting action and the military personnel has not had its minimum rest time (3-4 hours per day), the detachment doctor is allowed to authorize the use of psychomotor stimulants of the amphetamine group, in the form of 1-3 pills twice a day.

In order to maintain the physical capabilities of the military personnel and to use the available weapons and fighting strength under the best conditions, the use of energizing complexes (glucide-polyvitamins) is indicated throughout the period of a raid.

Insofar as reserves of water are small, they will be used primarily for drinking, and on command, for preparing warm food.

During the summer, if the water reserves being carried have changed due to outside temperature, they will have to be disinfected, daily if need be, particularly with chlorinating substances.

As an additional prophylaxis method, the military personnel can use disinfecting pills (based on iodizing or chlorinating substances) to treat small quantities of water in their individual canteens.

Depending on bacteriological data, prophylaxy against major digestive diseases can be performed at the start by administering a total quantity of broad spectrum antibiotics (tetracycline in a dose of 4 g over a 24-hour interval, in the form of 2 g followed by 1 g at a 12-hour interval). After this dosage, which should take place at the end of the first day of march, protection can be expected for 36-48 hours (practically for the entire mission).

Taking into account the existence of poor individual hygiene, prophylactic disinfections of equipment will be performed to prevent the occurrence of parasites.

Following the end of a raid, all personal possessions will be processed (bathing, complete change of underwear, and depending on circumstances, equipment exchange).

Conclusions

Raids are a form of fighting with many specific aspects, and as such must be known to all medical and sanitary personnel.

During raid preparations, measures will be taken to reinforce battallions with medical and sanitary personnel, means of evacuation, and sanitary and pharmaceutical materials.

The wounded will be transported with the means available in subunits and will be turned over to the local population, resistance fighters, or if seriously wounded, evacuated by air.

The good condition of the fighting personnel, their superior instruction and training, as well as the detailed study of terrains and mission procedures, will minimize medical losses. These losses will be caused primarily by infantry weapons, and to a lesser extent, by incendiary devices.

During moves, medical stations will be located in the column, ahead of materiel subunits.

During raids, the units will use water carried in tanks filled before the start of missions, or water from sources in the field, and meals will consist of preserved or semi-processed foods with long term storage capabilities. To every possible extent, one hot meal per day will be served.

The principle of delayed urgency will be used in delivering medical aid.

Physical body exhaustion will be fought with energizers, and (possible) psycho-nervous exhaustion with amphetamines.

Antiparasite kits will periodically be used to combat insects.

Antibiotic-prophylaxy must be used urgently in case of epidemiologic indications.

Article received on 18 June 1982.

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RIBICIC ON RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS, OPEN BORDER

AU211857 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 83 p 5

[Excerpts] Nova Gorica, 11 Sep (TANJUG)--Today in Nova Gorica, the 40th anniversary of the formation of the ninth corps of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the jubilee anniversary of the unification of the Slovene Littoral with its mother country, and the communal holiday were celebrated with a large meeting of people which was attended by over 50,000 working people and citizens of the Slovene Littoral and other parts of Slovenia.

Mitja Ribicic, member of the LYC Central Committee Presidium, spoke at the meeting.

Speaking about the importance of the all-people's uprising in the Slovene Littoral for the unification of that region with the mother country, Slovenia and new Yugoslavia, and on the struggle for the national integrity of the people of the Littoral and the liberation from the occupiers, Mitja Ribicic pointed out that the all-people's resistance of the population of the Littoral turned into a great liberation march from the sea to the source of Soca River under Triglav and from Istria, Notranjska, Gorenjska, and Carinthia to the distant settlements in Venezia Giulia. Mitja Ribicic then pointed out: "The national liberation struggle was not a [word indistinct] action. The physical destruction of fascism never and nowhere turned into creating mistrust toward the antifascist forces and aspirations of the Italian people. The force of the Yugoslav revolution also had a great influence on the Italian resistance movement. It helped it morally, materially, and militarily and the increasing spreading of the Italian resistance movement northwards provided valuable assistance to the Yugoslav revolution.

"What was of great importance in this connection was the fact that the Italian antifascists supported the right to self-determination of the unified Slovene national territory and that [the] Italian Communist Party did not separate the national and class interests of the people living along the Gulf of Trieste. These were already the first beginnings of new relations which even the notorious Cominform Resolution could not suppress. It was on these foundations that we later built the relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, the protection of minority rights, and the Osimo agreements which represent a unique document in Europe and the world because they have created conditions for a healthy coexistence on an increasingly open border between two political systems," Ribicic further emphasized.

Referring to the increasingly tense situation in the world, Mitja Ribicic stressed that peace represents a universal wealth of the entire mankind and that we are all equally responsible for it but the most responsible for it are those who have the monopoly on nuclear technology.

"Bulgaria's negation of the Macedonian people and Albania's instigation of irredentism in Yugoslavia are especially dangerous for peace in Europe and the world," Ribicic added. "We offer all neighbors open borders and free circulation of people, organized economic cooperation, and intermixing of cultures and other values. Open borders represent a constant for us, and our desire and principle, and any restrictive measures can only be temporary and we must abolish them when they lose their economic and fiscal importance. Cooperation between Italy and Yugoslavia is an example of good relations. The final and definite settlement of the border effectively and qualitatively contributed to these relations. The Osimo agreements have opened up new possibilities for developing mutually beneficial cooperation and especially cooperation between border populations. The Italian democratic forces and the Italian Government have received with understanding our economic stabilization program and the efforts for the recovery of the SFRY's foreign liquidity."

Concluding his speech, Ribicic especially emphasized that there have been attempts to undermine the existing model relations between Yugoslavia and Italy with eruptions of fascist rampages and irresponsible violence against Slovenes. He expressed hope that, in the future, the Italian state authorities would prevent this kind of behavior which violates the Constitution of the Republic of Italy and fails to respect the obligations of all UN member-countries to eradicate the remnants of criminal fascism on their territories.

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SPILJAK RECEIVES ISTRIA RELIGIOUS DELEGATION

LD241848 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 24
Sep 83

[Text] Pazin, 24 Sep (TANJUG)--In Pazin today, on the eve of the final celebration of the 40th anniversary of the union of Istria, Rijeka, Zadar and parts of the Adriatic Islands and Croatia and that of Slovensko Primorje and Slovenia in new Yugoslavia, Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, received a delegation of the religious communities--Catholic, Orthodox and Islamic--from the Istria area. The delegation was led by Dr Dragutin Nezic, bishop of Porec and Pula. The meeting was attended by Milutin Baltic, president of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia; Milan Rukavina-Sain, president of the Croat Assembly; Pero Djetelic, president of the republic conference of the SAWP of Croatia; and by representatives of the community of the Rijeka municipalities and of the municipality of Pazin.

Turning to the representatives of the religious communities of Istria, the president of the SFRY Presidency, Mika Spiljak, stressed that the Istrian clergy had been on the side of the people in their protracted struggle for national liberation and unification with their mother country--with Croatia in Yugoslavia. Speaking of the position of religious communities in Yugoslavia, Mika Spiljak stressed that in our democratic society churches and clergy and religious communities enjoy complete freedom. In our society, he said, citizens are not divided according to their membership in religious communities or according to believers and nonbelievers, but according to the extent to which they actively take part in the construction of our socialist self-management society.

In a cordial conversation, Dr Dragutin Nezic stressed that the church in Istria has always worked for the unification of Istria and of the Adriatic Islands with Croatia in Yugoslavia, being guided by national interests and by the ideas of prominent Istrian fighters among the priests, such as Bozo Milanovic.

During the conversation both sides stressed satisfaction with the constructive cooperation between religious communities in the Istria area and socio-political communities.

CSO: 2800/476

DELO COMMENTS ON JOINT EDUCATION POLICY

AU221932 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Sep 83 p 1

[Janko Svetina commentary: "The Topic of the Day: Disagreements About Common Cores"]

[Text] Numerous self-managing, professional, and sociopolitical organs in Slovenia have stood against some indications and attempts to extend state control over education in ways that would deprive the republics and provinces of their national integrity in school courses. This has been and will again be discussed by the SAWP and the Republican Committee for Culture; and, the Slovene Writers' Society yesterday talked about the share of national art in the common cores of educational plans.

Yugoslavia is a unified state of self-managing socialist republics and provinces, and this unity must be appropriately shown in the school courses. We therefore accept the common cores, as long as they recognize and take into account national peculiarities. However, we reject pressures to formulate some of the parts of these cores in ways and extents that do not suit the self-managing agreement among respective professional, social, and other factors and that would adversely affect the quantity of national-oriented school courses.

A part of the blame for the disagreement about the common cores of educational plans is borne by the organs which did not take care about proper information, so that the discussions remained closed within small circles. The proposed content of the cores has not sufficiently spread to wider professional circles, let alone to the people. Precisely for this reason we have read and heard a number of oversensitive reactions, half-truths, insinuations, and attacks (as well as justified objections), directed both at the cores themselves and at the arguments of those taking part in the discussion.

Regardless of all these things, the most precious experience gained is perhaps that joint responsibility for solving all our fundamental educational problems--which go beyond our schools--has been strengthened.

CSO: 2800/476

BRIEFS

OMANI ENVOY--Belgrade, 12 Sep (TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, received the credentials today of Salim Isma'il Suwayd, the newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Sultanate of Oman to the SFRY, and then engaged him in a friendly conversation. Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, also participated in the conversation. [Text] [LD151002 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 12 Sep 83]

PRC PROPAGANDA DELEGATION--Belgrade, 14 Sep (TANJUG)--A Chinese Communist Party (CCP) study delegation headed by Central Committee member and deputy head of its Department for Propaganda He Yingzhi [spelling of name as received] arrived in Belgrade today, Wednesday. The delegation visiting Yugoslavia on the basis of cooperation between [the] League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and [the] Chinese Communist Party will get acquainted with LCY activities in the field of ideological work, culture and information. The delegation was welcomed by Simone Kronja, assistant executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidency. [Text] [LD151002 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 14 Sep 83 LD]

PRC RED CROSS VISIT--Ljubljana 24 Sep (TANJUG)--a delegation of the Chinese Red Cross Society, led by Yang Chun, vice-chairman of this humanitarian organization, is paying a 2-day visit to the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The members of the delegation had talks with the representatives of the Slovene Red Cross Society, and today they will observe the Golovec-83 tactical exercise and visit some health institutions. [Text] [LD250036 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 24 Sep 83]

AMBASSADOR TO MALAYSIA--"Pool" item--Kuala Lumpur, 21 Sep (TANJUG)--Common goals and close cooperation in the Movement of Nonalignment contribute to the consolidation of friendly ties between Belgrade and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysian King Ahmad Shah Ibn Sultan Abu Bakar has said in receiving credentials from the newly accredited Yugoslav ambassador to Malaysia, Naste Calovski. The strong nonaligned movement is the guarantee of independence in the present bloc division of the world, said the Malaysian king and emphasized Josip Broz Tito's enormous contribution to the creation and development of nonalignment. [Text] [LD220132 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1117 GMT 21 Sep 83]

RADIO BELGRADE COUNCIL--The council of the First Program of Radio Belgrade met today for the first time in its new composition. Milored Mijovic, member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia, was elected president of the council. [Excerpts] [AU181518 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Sep 83]

SAWPY DELEGATION TO ROMANIA--Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)--A delegation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) led by Jovan Dejanovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, has left for Romania at the invitation of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front. Radmila Cvetkovic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian SAWPY Republican Conference and chairman of the Serbian Conference for the Social Position and Activity of Women, is also in the delegation. Talks will be held with representatives of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front on further developing cooperation. [Summary] [LD190229 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 18 Sep 83]

ITALIAN PARTISIAN GROUP--Pazin 25 Sep (TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received in Pazin a delegation of the National Association of Italian Partisans (ANPI) from Udine, Gorizia, and Trieste, which is staying in Yugoslavia at the invitation of the SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans] of the community of municipalities of Rijeka. The representatives of the Italian partisans attended the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the unification of Istria, Rijeka, Zadar, Cres, Losinj, Lastovo, and the Slovene coast with Yugoslavia. The guests and representatives of our veteran organization from the Rijeka region informed President Spiljak of the fruitful cooperation between the two organizations. Expressing satisfaction with the many-sided and developed cooperation between the veteran organizations of Yugoslavia and Italy, Mika Spiljak stressed that the common struggle of Yugoslav and Italian antifascists in Yugoslavia and Italy in World War II had significantly contributed to the development of excellent neighborly relations between Yugoslavia and Italy, which is of great importance for both countries and for the increasingly prominent aspirations of the peoples of the world for preserving peace and realizing democratic and equitable cooperation between countries and nations. [Text] [LD251526 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 25 Sep 83]

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